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THE ANCIENTS AND THE WAR: ADDENDA

That the interests of classicists are not all ancient is shown by the numerous modern analogies to things Greek and Roman noted by contributors to these columns during the Great War¹. The present paper is a supplement to an article called *The Ancients and the War*, which the writer published in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 11.142-144.

For the student of linguistics contemporary military slang affords a fascinating study. Each of the warring nations has a distinctive brand of humor. An Italian nickname for the Austrian soldier is *gobbo*, 'hunchback'. *Tête de boche*, an expression applied to a dull-witted person, is said to mean, literally, 'wooden head'². As early as 1889 *boche* signified also a German. "The French of the lower classes frequently refer to a German as a *tête carrée* ('square head')"³.

The tendency to represent despised (or but little known) races and peoples as deformed or as abnormally constituted was far more prevalent when means of travel and communication were not so readily available as now. Examples of the free play of Greek imagination may be found in great numbers: e.g. 'Ἡμικυνες, Κυνοκέφαλοι, Μονόμματοι, Μακροκέφαλοι, Πυγμαίοι, Στεγανόποδες, Στερνόφθαλμοι', Cynamolgi (*caninis capitibus*)⁴, Hippopodes (*equinis pedibus*)⁵, Trispathami⁷ (*ternas spithamas longitudine*)⁸.

When the Tyrrheni were attacking Agylla, one of them approached the walls and asked the name of the town. Instead of getting an answer, he was greeted with the salutation *Χαίρε*. On capturing the town, the invaders called it Caere (Strabo 5, page 220). This story has an analogue in a no less apocryphal account of the origin of the name Sammy, which appeared in a Canadian newspaper:

The welcoming French shouted enthusiastically, 'Vive les amis', pronounced 'Veev lair zammie', and the soldiers thought that, instead of cheering their arriving friends, the crowds were giving them a nickname referring to Uncle Sam.

Soldiers in a foreign country naturally have difficulty with proper names and just as naturally associate them in whole or in part with words in their own language.

¹See 8.42-43, 69-70, 73-74, 89-90, 97-98, 128, 136, 168, 208; 9.24, 152, 160, 184; 10.48, 49-51, 71-72, 80, 87-88; 11.87, 96, 142-144; 12.8.

²Albert Barrère, *Argot and Slang*, s. v. *boche*. The edition consulted was published in 1889.

³Notes and Queries, November 21, 1914, page 417.

⁴Strabo, I, Ch. 35.

⁵Pliny, N.H. 4.95.

⁶Pliny, N.H. 6.195.

⁷Pliny, N.H. 7.26.

⁸Cf. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1.389-392.

One cannot avoid the conviction that soldiers are responsible for many popular etymologies in Latinized place names, since soldiering seems to have been the chief motive for going abroad (cf. *militiae* = 'abroad')⁹. Populonia, evidently in the Etruscan derived from the Etruscan Bacchus Phuphluns, is formed as if from *populus*; Velathri> Volaterra (cf. *volare* and *terra*)¹⁰; Tarvisium> Triviciium (cf. *tres* and *vici*); Cabillonum> Caballodunum (cf. *caballus*). There was a deity in the Alps worshipped as Poeninus¹⁰ (Livy 21.38.9), but, after the passage of Hannibal, the name was associated with the Poeni¹³.

Greek names suffered the same fate on the lips of Romans. 'Ὀρμῖλαι' ('Anchorage'), named διὰ τὸ εὐβοῖον (Strabo, page 233), becomes Formiae¹¹. In late Latin Saguntum becomes Sanguintum under the influence of *sanguis*. Τραχινή ('Rough Land') changes to Terracina, a form based on *terra*. Φόρκες ('Deep Valley') masquerades in Latin as Furculae (i. e. in Furculae Caudinae).

Tommy Atkins in Europe did exactly the same thing. A few examples of Atkinisms may be given: Haze-brouck> Hazy-Brook; Bailleul> Ballyall; Ploegstraete> Plug-Street; Rue de Bois> Rude Boys; Étapes> Eatables. The crowning illustration, Wipers for Ypres, must not be omitted. German distortions are common: Quesnoy> Genua; Neufchâtel> Neuschrapnell; Pérenchiès> Baerenschiss.

Private Peat tells us (107) that the Canadians used to inquire after the health of the Clown Prince, Von Woodenburg, One O'Clock (= Von Kluck), and One Bumstoff (= Von Bernstorff). Among ancient parodies on names are the celebrated Biberius Caldius Mero (Suetonius, Tib. 42) and Mobilior for Nobilior¹².

When the British wanted to land troops at Gallipoli, they filled the S. S. River Clyde with men and ran her

⁹The illustrations following are taken from Keller, *Lateinische Volksetymologie*, 8-17.

^{10a}The symbol > means 'gave rise to', 'yielded'.

^{10b}*Fen, penn* = *Kopf, Kuppe*: see Keller, 11.

^{10c}Perhaps a reference may be made here to the suggestion, made by James E. Dunlap, in *Classical Philology* 14.85-87 (January, 1919), that the term *Laudiceni*, Pliny, Epp. 2.14.5, really came from *Laodicieni* (the people of Laodicea), pronounced *Laudiceni*, and understood by the common people, with their fondness for etymologizing . . . perhaps seriously, perhaps humorously, as a compound of *laus* and *disco*, **Laudi-dic-eni* (the suffix, with geographical significance, would present no difficulty), reduced by haplology to *Laudiceni*, as **stipipendium* to *stipendium*, . . . **nutritrix* to *nutrix*, etc." c. k.

¹¹Es ist vielleicht gestattet, eine Mittelform *Vormiae* anzunehmen, vgl. *Euvodia* = *Euhodia*. So Keller, 16.

Compare Servius on Aeneid 7.695: *Formiae quae Hormiae fuerunt, ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρμῆς*, nam posteritas in multis nominibus *f* pro *h* posuit.

¹²Cato apud Ciceronem, *De Oratore* 2.256.

ashore in the face of attacks. The soldiers called the steamship The Wooden Horse, in allusion to the somewhat similar expedient of the ancient Greeks on the other side of the Dardanelles.

Cheval de bois seems to be a French allusion to the famous wooden horse leaping over the walls of Troy. It is a term used in French aviation fields when a student allows his machine to jump out of the confines of the training grounds¹³.

The first flying machine, which was invented by Archytas of Tarentum, was a *περιστέρα* (*columba*)¹⁴. It is a striking coincidence that one type of German aircraft is named *Taube*. *Albatross* is another 'bird' name. The French have a *cigogne* ('stork') and *canard* ('duck'). The aviation student is started on a *penguin*, so named "because of its humorous resemblance to the quaint arctic birds and its inability in common with them to do any flying".

Military writers have commented on the similarity of the moving sheds of the ancients and the tanks of to-day. It is interesting, however, to compare, or rather to contrast, the animal names of the various 'species'. The larger types of the Romans were called *testudines* ('tortoises'), owing to the manner of their construction and shape. The more nimble ones were named *musculi* ('mice'). In post-classical times such contrivances were known as *catti* and *cancres*. The modern devices move on a 'caterpillar' belt. The first ones were 'male' and 'female'. The smaller, lighter, and more mobile models of the French enjoy the sobriquet *mosquitoes*; those of the British are styled *whippets*, after a breed of dogs used in northern England for coursing and racing.

Serpents were represented in antiquity by the asp (i. e. 'shield')¹⁵. In the present war the fast aeroplanes which guard reconnaissance machines overhead, underneath and on the sides have been called *vipers* (at times *maggots*).

In his previous paper the writer called attention to the prevalence of animal names in Roman military parlance and listed twenty-three instances. The contemporary soldier displays the same tendencies. In newspapers we have been reading about *naval camels* (guns), *caterpillar tractors*, *elephant dugouts*, *elephant rifles*, *maggots*, *mosquitoes*, *penguins*, *flying pigs*, *rabbit holes*, *vipers*, and *whippets*. Even the *torpedo* is indebted to a fish for its name. The shape of the machine gun is said to account for the Italian nicknames for it, *capra* ('goat') and *cavaletta* ('locust'). The French have a squat little trench mortar which they call *crapouillot* ('small toad'). Illustrations may be culled from the German war glossary:

¹³Cheval de bois, as applied to the slewing round of an aeroplane on landing, has, of course, a different explanation. In such case it means 'hobby-horse'.

¹⁴Gellius 10.12.10.

¹⁵δοκεῖ δέ μοι τὴν ἀσπίδα τὸ ὄπλον ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου ὀνομαζεσθαι ζῴου, διὰ τὸ εἰς κύκλους πολλοὺς ἐλίσσόμενον καθεύδειν. κυκλικαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ ἀσπίδες τῶν παλαιῶν. So Scholium or Aristophanes, *Vespe* 18, Dübner.

A French 75-mm. shell is a 'Kettenhund' (watchdog) or a 'Windhund' (greyhound). A French 75-H. E. shell has only one name: it is 'Stinkwiesel' (skunk), while a low-velocity French shell is a 'Blindschleiche' (slowworm). The common heavy shells of all the Allies are variously named, but mostly they are known as 'Schwarze Biester' (black beasts) or 'Schwarze Säue' (black sows)¹⁶.

The animal kingdom is, then, well represented in the slang dictionary. Flowers are not so fortunate. One may, however, note the Roman *lilia* (= *teretes stipites*, Caesar, B. G. 7.73) and the *Gewitterlulpe* (steel helmet) of the Germans. As for the produce of trees, the *glandes* ('acorns': *glans* is, of course, not a slang word) remind us of the French nickname for bullets, *marrons* ('chestnuts') and *pruneaux* ('plums').

Cuneus, *forfices* and *serra* (Gellius 10.9) are expressions taken from the domain of mechanics. During the present war, *wedges*, *pincer drives* and *hammer blows*¹⁷ have been engrossing our attention.

Missouri mules are sometimes honored as *American ponies*, with a covert allusion to Shetland ponies. Cooties are often called *pants rabbits* and *seam squirrels*. Such contemporary slang makes one appreciate more the humor of the Roman soldiers in calling the elephants of Pyrrhus *boves Lucae* (Pliny, N. H. 8.16). One can not help thinking that the Greek who first called ostriches *sparrows* (στρούθοι) was blessed with a sense of humor¹⁸.

Soldiers who die in France 'go West'. The origin of this expression has troubled some writers. The explanation is obvious. The region of the dead is naturally in the land of the setting sun, and the dead have been 'going West' from time immemorial. When Ulysses went to pay a visit to Hades, he directed his course Westward. The mythologies of many savage tribes retain the same tradition to-day¹⁹.

Our analogies need not be confined to verbal similarities. One reads occasionally of draftees who have inflicted wounds upon themselves in order to evade military service. Ammianus Marcellinus (15.12.3) gives us a little insight into ancient conditions:

Nec eorum <= Gallorum> aliquando quisquam, ut in Italia, munus Martium pertimescens pollicem sibi praecidit, quos localiter *murcos* appellant²⁰.

The implication is that such occurrences were all too frequent in Italy. Attention has been called before in these columns to deliberate mutilation by and upon ancient 'slackers'²¹.

¹⁶Quoted in Literary Digest for August 17, 1918, from the London Daily Mail.

¹⁷Charles Martel acquired part of his name by hammering the enemy. Cf. the name *Tydeus*, a cognate of which in Latin is *tudes*, 'mallet'.

¹⁸The subject of Roman military slang is almost exhausted by two writers: W. Heraeus, *Die Römische Soldatensprache*, in *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie*, 12.255-280; and J. G. Kempf, *Romanorum Sermonis Castrensis Reliquiae*, in *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie*, Suppl. 26.337-400.

¹⁹See Index to Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, s. v. West.

²⁰This passage would seem to be a sufficient explanation of the origin of the proper name *Murcus*, although it does not agree with Schulze, *Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen*, 103, n. 1.

²¹Professor Nutting, in an article entitled *Military Parallels*, in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 11.87 <wrongly ascribed there to Dr. T. A. Buenger: C. K.> quotes Suetonius, Aug. 24 and Valerius Maximus 6.3.3.

In the days before our recruits outnumbered the regular army, the *rookie* was catapulted skyward from a blanket tightly held. The form of amusement is by no means new²², although the ancients used a *sagum* (cf. *sagatio*)²³.

One sees occasionally pictures of shells labelled with such grim pleasantries as *A Gift for Fritz, A Pill for Kaiser Bill*. Such an outlet for mirth is nothing new. Many inscriptions are found on the *glandes* of the ancients: e. g. Asc(u)lanis (d)on(um), Feri Pomp(eium Strabonem), Fer salutem Pompeio (clearly ironical), Fugitivi peristis ('Death to the fugitives!'), *τρωγάλιον* ('bonbon'), *τρώγε, πρόσχε, δέξαι, λάβε*²⁴.

The iron cross has been bestowed so freely upon German soldiers that it is now esteemed at but little more than its intrinsic value. The ridicule directed at the practice reminds one of Cato's strictures upon Nobilior for cheapening military distinctions:

"Iam principio quis vidit corona donari quemquam, cum oppidum captum non esset aut castra hostium non incensa essent?" Fulvius autem, in quem hoc a Catone dictum est, coronis donaverat milites, *quia vallum curaverant, aut qui puteum strenue foderant* (Gellius 5.6.25-26).

In an emergency the ancients employed women's hair in *tormenta* (Caesar, B. C. 3.9.3; Appian 8.13.93). The modern parallels already cited (THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 11.142) may be further augmented by a clipping from the Philadelphia Public Ledger of July 9, 1918:

In Holland the Germans are now offering high prices for combings, which are used for driving belts. Last November the women's Red Cross union in Germany obtained permission to collect women's hair for belts for submarine engines. Thus it is seen that even supplies for makeshifts are running short.

Statistics as to the relative expenditure of ammunition in antiquity and to-day would prove interesting. It is estimated that in the Civil War only one bullet in every thirty thousand killed a man.

Up to the present time in the war on the western front two tons of ammunition have been used for each soldier killed, captured, or seriously wounded²⁵.

In this connection it is worth while to quote some figures given in accounts of the operations of Caesar and Pompey at Dyracchium (Suetonius, Julius 68.3):

Denique una sextae legionis cohors praeposita castello quattuor Pompei legiones per aliquot horas sustinuit paene omnis confixa multitudo hostilium sagittarum, quarum centum ac triginta milia intra vallum reperta sunt²⁶.

No account is taken of the arrows that fell *extra vallum*. However, if the cohort was at its full strength, over 200 arrows were shot for each defender. In the same engagement 120 arrows struck the shield of Scaeva. According to Suetonius, almost all of Caesar's men

were hit; according to Caesar himself, not a one came out unscathed (B. C. 3.53.3). These figures add some confirmation to the assertions of military critics that in proportion to the numbers engaged war to-day is far less deadly than in antiquity.

A story in Herodotus (7.226) gives us a vague idea about the amount of ammunition that might be expended. At Thermopylae the Spartan Dieneces was informed by a Trachinian that, when the barbarians let fly their shafts, they obscured the light of the sun. Undaunted the Spartan replied, 'We shall fight them in the shade and not in the sun'²⁷.

In July in the operations in the Champagne General Gouraud withdrew most of his men from the front line and concentrated them on the second. The Germans swept over the outer line, but reached the main defense exhausted and were easily defeated. About a month later the Germans decided to adopt French tactics against General Mangin on a small front between Moulin-sous-Touvent and Hautbraye.

They calculated that the French, having easily demolished the front line, would advance across the intermediate zone behind, swept by the German artillery and machine guns. When they arrived at the line of resistance they would be shattered, worn out and incapable of effective action, exactly as happened to themselves in the Champagne²⁸.

The manoeuvres were similar to those of Pompey and Caesar at Pharsalus (Caesar, B. C. 3.92):

Pompeius suis praedixerat ut Caesaris impetum exciperent neve se loco moverent aciemque eius distrahi paterentur; . . . sperabat . . . fore ut duplicato cursu Caesaris milites exanimarentur et lassitudine conficerentur.

The French nullified the German plan by stopping at the front line. Caesar's troops foiled Pompey in much the same fashion:

Sed nostri milites signo dato cum infestis pilis procurrissent atque animum advertissent non concurrere Pompeianis, usu periti ac superioribus pugnis exercitati sua sponte cursum represserunt et ad medium fere spatium constituerunt, ne consumptis viribus appropinquarent.

The supernatural and miraculous are still influencing the destinies of mankind. At the beginning of the war we read a great deal about the Angel of Mons appearing before the French soldiers. There is also a story that at the first battle of the Marne

Jeanne d'Arc gathered a celestial host, and that it was this which the Germans were permitted to see for a little while, that the heart of France might go on beating²⁹.

One will recall the traditions about the Thundering Legion of Marcus Aurelius and the story of Constantine's vision of the cross.

The Infantry Drill Regulations of the United States Army (edition of 1911) states (§ 319) in the rules for the attack that the "skirmishers spring forward shouting"

²²Cf. Ibis ab excusso missus in astra sago (Martia! 1.3).

²³See Becq de Fouquières, Les Jeux des Anciens, 273.

²⁴See Daremberg et Saglio, s. v. *glans*. Zangemeister, Ephemeris Epigraphica, Volume 6, illustrates the *glandes plumbeae* of the Romans with thirteen plates.

²⁵The Outlook, October 9, 1918, page 206.

²⁶Compare the account in Caesar, B. C. 3.53.

²⁷Cf. also Aristophanes, Vespaie 1084.

²⁸Philadelphia Public Ledger, August 22, 1918.

²⁹Everybody's Magazine, August, 1918, page 85.

The psychology of battle cries is explained by Caesar, B. C. 3.92.5:

neque frustra antiquitus institutum est ut signa undique concinerent clamoremque universi tollerent; quibus rebus et hostis terreri et suos incitari existimaverunt.

See also the discussion in Gellius 1.11, especially 9.

Although one feels a certain amount of reservation in comparing any other nation with the Germans, it may not be improper to note certain points of resemblance. The Germans have not been greater inventors than were the Romans, but they have assimilated, developed, and organized the results of the ingenuity of other peoples, as did the Romans before them. The aeroplane, the machine gun, the submarine, trench warfare, the barrage, all of which have been effectively employed by the Germans, are not due to German originality; neither are the telegraph, the telephone and wireless telegraphy, which are absolutely essential to the successful prosecution of war to-day.

One can not name any weapon, not even the *gladius* or the *pilum*, which is due solely to Roman inventiveness. The bed-rock of Rome's military equipment and organization is Etruscan³⁰. Upon this are laid other strata, Sabine, Samnite, Gallic, Iberian, Carthaginian, Greek³¹. The war-galley was not a product of the Roman mind any more than the armor-clad boat is of the German.

The Romans were, then, just as alert as the Germans in adapting and improving. 'Whatever seemed suitable anywhere among friends or foes, with the utmost zeal they imitated at home' (Sallust, Cat. 61). A Greek, Polybius (6.25.11), pays them a similar tribute: 'Whatever they saw, they lost no time in imitating; for, if any nation is adept at transferring customs and imitating what is better, it is the Romans'. To the credit of the Romans, they imitated a foreign Kultur likewise³².

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EUGENE S. MCCARTNEY.

ON VERGIL, AENEID 1. 466-493

It is well known that the scenes from the siege of Troy which Aeneas sees depicted in Juno's temple at Carthage form a well-ordered panorama. It has also been said repeatedly that a certain parallelism is unmistakable in the scenes selected by the poet. But I cannot find anywhere a detailed discussion of these pictures. And yet they deserve such treatment.

The first question which arises is: How many scenes did Vergil mean to place before his readers? It is commonly assumed that there were eight: (1) the flight of the Greeks (467); (2) the flight of the Trojans (468); (3) the horses of Rhesus (469-473); (4) Troilus dragged by Achilles (474-478); (5) the suppliant Trojan women (479-482); (6) the ransoming of Hector's body (483-487); (7) Aeneas and Memnon fighting the Greeks (488-489); (8) Penthesilea and her Ama-

zons (490-493). For reasons which will become apparent later, I believe we ought to assume *nine* scenes: 1-6 as above; (7) Aeneas and the Greek chiefs (488); (8) Memnon and his Ethiopians (489); (9) Penthesilea (490-493).

The next question is: How were the pictures arranged on the wall of the temple? There are two passages which seem to give a hint for the answer. In 456 we read *videt Iliacas ex ordine pugnas*; in 467-468 we read *hac fugerent Graii . . . hac Phryges*. The latter passage appears to contradict the former, for *ex ordine* would seem to mean 'one after the other', 'in a line', while the second passage would seem to indicate that the two contrasted scenes formed the two end-scenes of the frieze. That the latter view is the correct one will, I trust, become evident from the subjoined diagram.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
fugiant Graii	Troilus curru rapitur	Troades supplices	Memnon et Boae acies	AENEAS ET ACHIVO- RUM PRINCI- PES	Penthe- silea et Amazoni- des	Hectoris redemp- tio	Rhesi equi ad castra vertuntur	fugiant Phryges

The reasons for this proposed arrangement are as follows:

In the pictorial relief sculptures of Hellenistic times we may get a few hints with reference to the painting of the times in such matters at least as the arrangement and balance of figures, the subjects treated and the general progress of artistic skill.

So Fowler and Wheeler, Greek Archaeology, 528. Nor must we underrate the importance of mosaics, such as that of the Issos-battle, and the mosaics

of the sarcophagi, for our reconstruction at least of the laws of composition governing the ancient paintings.

³⁰See E. S. McCartney, The Military Indebtedness of Early Rome to Etruria, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 1.121-167.

³¹See E. S. McCartney, The Genesis of Rome's Military Equipment, *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 6.71-79.

³²Attention may be called to an article, different in spirit from this paper, yet after all akin to it, entitled Words for 'Battle', 'War', 'Army', and 'Soldiers', by C. D. Buck, *Classical Philology* 14.1-19 (January, 1919). C. K.